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THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE CRITICIZED

MALISOFF DANA WALDMAN

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THE SOCIALIST REVIEW

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Three Revolutionary Trades Union Congresses

H. W. L. Dana

IF the British take their pleasures sadly, it is also true that they take their revolutions placidly. The American visitor, accustomed in labor meetings at home to hear much sound and fury signifying nothing, is surprised to find in the far calmer atmosphere of recent labor meetings in England that far more revolutionary action is being taken. The sudden and momentous development of this revolutionary spirit during the past summer can be traced in the three Trades Union Congresses which took place in England in the three summer months: the special congress on Ireland in July, the special congress on Russia in August, and the regular meeting of the Trades Union Congress at Portsmouth in September.

Special Congress on Ireland

The first Special Trades Union Congress during the summer was that called together on July 13th in Central Hall, Westminster, to consider the growingly critical situation in Ireland. Most of the capitalist newspapers in London seem to have curiously missed the significance of the two main resolutions that were passed on that occasion. The first resolution, put forward by the National Union of Railwaymen, was a comparatively mild statement calling for a truce between all parties and for the opening of an Irish parliament with full dominion powers. The fact that this resolution was carried by only a small majority, 1,935,000 to 1,759,000, was due not to its being too revolutionary, as some of the papers that afternoon seemed to suppose, but on the contrary to its not being revolutionary enough, many of the trade unions refraining from voting on that account.

That this was the case seems clearly enough shown by the fact that a later and far more revolutionary resolution was carried by a much larger majority, 2,760,000 to 1,636,000. This resolution was brought forward by the Miners' Federation. The first mover was the young secretary of the miners, Frank Hodges. As he stood there with his blue shirt, clean-shaven, clear eyed, calm, it was interesting to see how the whole hall full of older labor leaders listened in complete silence to the words of this young man. His words were an attack on the use of the military machine in Ireland and everywhere.

> "There is only one way in which that machine can be stopped now. The working-class organizations must act. For the military machine depends for its existence upon the industrial classes."

Then Robert Smillie rose, weary and in ill health, but the piercing look that came from beneath those jutting eyebrows and the determined voice that came from behind those walrus moustaches drove home his argument. The resolution itself protested against the British military domination of Ireland and demanded the withdrawal of British troops from that country and the cessation of the production of munitions of war to be used against Ireland or Russia. In case the government refused these demands the congress recommended a general strike.

The threat of a general strike on an international issue represented a new departure for labor. The bold coupling of Russia with Ireland, not to mention a resolution brought in later by two members of the British labor

delegation which had just returned from Russia, already anticipated the still more revolutionary action taken in the second Special Trades Union Congress.

The Council of Action

The second Special Trades Union Congress was just a month later, in August. In the meanwhile the danger of England's being swept into the war against Soviet Russia had become more and more critical. Winston Churchill had been doing his worst to stampede the country, even suggesting the use of German help to crush Russia.

Spontaneous meetings of protest against such a war had sprung up throughout the country. The Resist the War Committee had circulated blanks on which the workers pledged themselves (1) not to undertake military service against Russia, (2) not to make or transport munitions, and (3) to resist military preparations or the imposition of conscription for the purpose of war against Russia.

Finally on Monday, August 9th, there had taken place in the House of Parliament that momentous Joint Conference of the Parliamentary Labor Party, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress declaring in its resolution that "it warns the government that the whole industrial power of the organized workers will be used to defeat this war."

It was this Joint Conference which organized the famous "Council of Action," made up of 15 members, 5 from the Trades Union Congress, 5 from the Labor Party, and 5 representing the 65 labor members of Parliament. This numerical arrangement of three groups of five each reminded one of the Plumb Plan, only that in this case not one only but all three groups represented labor. During the next few days local councils of action sprang up throughout the country and a call was sent out for an emergency national conference of labor to indorse the national Council of Action.

Preventing the War With Russia

On Friday the 13th, which may yet be remembered as an unlucky date for the capitalists, the very same day by the way that in Paris Cachin and Frossard, returned from Soviet Russia, were sweeping a great mass meeting of French workers into a wave of enthusiasm for the Soviets, there took place in Central Hall, Westminster, the astounding British Trades Union Congress on Russia, which threw down the gauntlet to the whole British government and gave full power to the recently appointed "Council of Action." There was the most extraordinary tone of calm seriousness about this revolutionary congress.

J. H. Thomas, who as chairman of the Trades Union Congress holds somewhat the same relation to it as Gompers does to the American Federation of Labor, in moving the resolutions indorsing the "Council of Action" declared that this meant "direct action." Hitherto, he said, he had always been opposed to direct action, but now no political action could accomplish what was needed. "Our action now," he went on to say, "does not mean a mere strike, it means a challenge to the whole constitution of the country." Try to imagine Samuel Gompers proposing a challenge to the whole constitution of America and you can see how revolutionary this British Trades Union Congress has become. Other voices took up Thomas's challenge. Robert Williams of the Transport Workers declared: "It is better to make peace unconstitutionally than to go to war and go to hell constitutionally!"

Then, after several more moderate men had spoken, there were calls for "Smillie!" and Robert Smillie arose half reluctantly to add his word. He began with a characteristic touch of dry humor, saying that on this occasion he was willing to take the advice of the *Times* and the other newspapers and "follow" the moderate men. He said he wanted to thank "Comrade" Churchill for having done what no other comrade had succeeded in doing—uniting British labor. It was the Minister of War who had succeeded

on uniting them for peace. The workers were the only people who could prevent war. In case the French workers could not be persuaded to coöperate with the British, Smillie threw out a threat which at the same time shows the new international pressure which labor is asserting and throws a new light on the threatened coal strike. "If France cuts off Russia's coal supply," thundered Smillie, "we will cut off France's coal supply."

When the main resolution declaring that the conference "pledges itself to resist any and every form of military and naval intervention against the Soviet Government of Russia" and "authorizes the Council of Action to call for any and every form of withdrawal of labor" was put to a vote, the entire body rose to its feet with one loud-throated, crushing, unanimous "Aye!" Then occurred the strangest thing of all. The whole body of delegates remained standing weighing the importance of what they had just done in complete silence for a full minute. And then they broke out into the strains of "The Red Flag." As one heard them singing:

"We'll keep the red flag flying *here*,"

there seemed to be an emphasis on the "here" which reminded one that here meant in the Trades Union Congress. Again, later on, at the end of the meeting, when they sang the "Internationale," one came to feel that perhaps after all this was the beginning of "the final conflict."

The effect of this meeting was formidable. The labor papers hailed it with headlines "All Power to the Council of Action" as who should say "All Power to the Soviets." The capitalist papers, on the other hand, saw in the Council of Action a terrible power set over against that of Parliament. The *Morning Post,* for example, shrieked in terror, "The dreaded Soviet has come at last." *Punch* had a cartoon representing the dream of the Council of Action by a British workingman standing on the ruins of the Houses of Parliament—as revolutionary a picture as you could ask for. The force which organized labor had suddenly acquired was shown in the way in which Lloyd George and the governmental newspapers suddenly changed face. On the following Monday, Lloyd George declared in the House of Commons: "The policy of the government in regard to Poland and Russia would appear to differ in no way from that enunciated at the Labor Conference," and the newspapers at once began to say, "Who wanted any war any way?" Somehow one got the sense of the impotence of Lloyd George and of the enormous potential power of British Labor.

Forcing the Government at Portsmouth

Compared to these two special congresses on Ireland and Russia, the regular annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress which took place this year at Portsmouth from September 6th to 11th seemed at first sight less dramatic. But before long one came to feel the conflict between the great mass of the labor delegates on the floor and the austere row of the Parliamentary Committee on the platform, and began to realize the growing power of the floor over the platform.

Some of the Parliamentary Committee, Thomas, the chairman, for example, sensing this, have shifted their views to meet it. Others of the old guard, in stubbornly sticking to their old ideas, are rapidly losing ground and are some of them failing to be returned even by their own unions. To take a trivial instance, after Smillie from the floor had pleaded for clean politics within the labor movement, saying, "If we condemn the methods of the capitalists, we must be sure our own methods are absolutely clean," one of the former leaders on the platform tried to defend his methods by saying, "We'll play cricket as long as the others will, but when they play dirty, we'll do the same." The burst of derision from the floor which greeted this thread-bare plea showed that that game will no longer go down.

The disgust with the whole outworn machinery of the congress was seen in the resolution carried by a vote of 4,800,000 to 1,700,000 scrapping the formerly all powerful Parliamentary Committee of 16 elected at large and putting in its place a general council of thirty-two, representing different

groups of trade unions. This general council was to be subdivided into 5 sub-committees, one representing the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen, and Transport Workers, one, the building trades, one, the textiles, etc., one, printing, public employes and non-manual workers, and one miscellaneous trades —a decided step in the direction of the much needed coördination of the trade unions.

The revolutionary nature of even this rather perfunctory Trades Union Congress was still more clearly seen by the tone of defiance to the government, shown in some of the resolutions and the debates on them. The very first resolutions, for instance, declared the futility of the former method of sending deputations to cabinet ministers and proposed instead to refer questions of political action to the Labor Party executive and questions of industrial action to the trade union concerned. The line of argument used was that the government should no longer be asked, it should be forced.

The next important resolution called for a confiscation of war profits not by a tax on income but by a levy on capital. J. R. Clynes in supporting it said: "To win the war, lives were not loaned but taken. To win the peace of mind of these islands, wealth should similarly not be loaned but taken."

Another resolution, moved by Tom Mann, declared that the responsibility for unemployment in any industry should be borne by the industry and, in order to raise the necessary funds, power should be obtained to force a levy on the industry. A resolution on education condemned all schools or classes controlled by employers as antagonistic to the interests of the working classes. Other instances might be added, but these random resolutions are perhaps sufficient to indicate the revolutionary temper of this Trades Union Congress. A further confirmation of the undercurrent of revolutionary sympathy running through this meeting was the completely changed attitude of the Trades Union Congress as a whole towards Soviet Russia. In return for the British Labor delegation in Russia, a Russian labor delegation was coming to England and going to attend this Portsmouth meeting, but when it was learned that the British Government had refused to let the Russian trade unionists come, the congress was furious. An emergency resolution was passed condemning the government's action and adding:

"The Congress is unable to understand why abundant hospitality should be extended to Russian grand dukes, royal princes, ex-landlords and capitalists, while no permission can be given to representatives of the Russian working class to land in England."

In the course of the argument on Russia which this resolution precipitated, Tom Mann pointed to the time when the British workers, like the Russian, should get power and the question should arise of using that power in the interests of the community as a whole and declared that they would need the help of just such a Russian delegation to carry this out. Against the solitary and futile opposition of the loud protesting Havelock Wilson, the resolution was carried overwhelmingly.

Conclusion

In looking back over these three congresses, one realizes how British labor during the last few months has come into power. Not merely in industrial matters, but in many other internal and even international affairs it is playing a part it never played before. It has become a force as powerful as that of the government itself. Under the comparatively placid exterior of these three Trades Union Congresses, one comes to grasp the fact that a revolution is taking place, indeed that a revolution has already taken place.

The Italian Metal Workers' Victory

Girolamo Valenti

IN 1830 the workers of Lyons, France, marched by thousands through the streets of that city bearing aloft a red flag with the motto, "Either we live by work or we die in the fight." They were unemployed. They wanted work. The response

of the ruling class to this demand for the right to work was a general massacre.

In 1920 the metal workers of Italy were thrown on the street by their employers. They repeated the motto of their French brothers of 1830. But they did more than this. They seized the plants where their jobs were denied them. They hoisted the red flag on the tower of the establishments which had been closed to them. They started the machinery going and they began producing. They asked for the right to live by work. They asked also to be treated as human beings while producing, and when the master class denied them this sacred right, they themselves took it by invading the property-owners' rights, which the state and church had proclaimed sacred and inviolable.

Giolitti's Stand

The state, whose function in all capitalist countries is that of defending the sanctity of private property, did not dare to interfere in the metal workers' struggle in Italy. That is something new in the history of the class struggle. Some declare that the course adopted by Giolitti was a wise one; that by refusing to use troops to expel the workers from the seized plants, he adopted the best method of protecting the interests of the employers. Others suspect that his neutral stand is a revenge against the employers who abused him with slanderous epithets during the war when he loudly proclaimed that Italy was not justified in entering the world conflict.

Whatever may have been the reasons, however, for the course he took, the fact remains that the Giolitti government could not have taken any other stand. The government could not have attacked the metal workers, for by doing so it would have arrayed the entire Italian proletariat against it, including the railroad, telegraph, telephone, agricultural and transportation workers. Civil war would inevitably have resulted. Thus *Avanti*, the daily of the Italian workers, in its issue of September 5, 1920, published a strong appeal to the peasants and workers in uniform. The appeal to the peasants stated in conclusion:

"Peasants, follow the struggle of the metal workers; give it your support, and should tomorrow the hour of the decisive battle against all masters and exploiters strike, you too join the others. Seize the city hall and the land; disarm the police and, together with the workmen, form your own battalions; march towards the large cities to help the people in their fight against the bailiffs paid by the bourgeoisie, for you know that the day of justice and liberty is near."

To the workingmen in uniform the appeal ended thus:

"Soldiers, if you are stationed in the shops and the workingmen attempt to enter them, let them in; if you are ordered to take the factories from the hands of the workers, retire as soon as the workers put up a little resistance; if you are stationed in the streets to form cordons, let the crowd pass through! Do not shoot, in any case, by any order, against the crowd, but be ready decisively and courageously to unite your strength and your arms with the strength and the arms of the workingmen who are your brothers by class and misery, in order to overthrow the exploiting system of the profiteers and establish the society of free and equal men."

Workers' Discipline

The government was not any too certain that the troops would obey orders. Hitherto in every labor dispute the ruling class has had little difficulty in enlisting the support of "public opinion" by denouncing those on strike for better working conditions as the "lazy bunch," who would gladly destroy the industries and plunge the country into a state of strife and misery. With the metal workers, however, the press could not play the old game. The newspapers were unable to poison the mind of either the public or of the soldiers by the claim that the strikers were lazy, for the situation disproved such a claim. The leaders of industry had declared a lockout which threw more than 400,000 workers on the street. The discharged workers walked in. They took possession of the plants and started working. Further, they dug trenches around the plants and set up barbed wire entanglements to defend them from being recaptured by the class which kept them idle. Later they captured and

kept as hostages the engineers who would hinder the process of production by leaving the plants. They worked and increased the output of materials. Instead of eight they toiled twelve and even sixteen hours a day. They strictly obeyed the orders of their organization, some of which read as follows: "Work, produce, look after the machinery, do not destroy it, be vigilant against *agents provocateurs* who might cause trouble with a view to stopping production."

And how they worked and maintained order in the shops! Here is an order posted by the Soviet of Roma Tabanelli Company (which name the workers changed to The Communist Shop of Rome):

"The shop commissaries, while leaving all employment regulations unchanged, order the following:

1. Any comrade who fails in his duty will be tried by a Discipline Council.
2. Any one who carries on defeatist propaganda against either the community or against individual comrades shall be so tried.
3. The same council shall try any one who damages or neglects machinery, who mishandles or wastes material, or who does not handle with care the tools of the plants.
4. Anyone not present at his own post at the starting signal, or any one leaving his post before the hour fixed shall lose a whole day's work."

The "underdogs," the "shiftless ones," demonstrated to the world that, after all, they not only had an interest in work, but they were able to operate the plants independently of the owners.

Cause of Strike

The struggle at the beginning was economic, resulting from the high cost of living. The workers had demanded an increase in wages and indemnities for those who would eventually be discharged. The representatives of the workers declared that, in the three-year period, 1916, 1917 and 1918, the companies had realized enormous profits; that the Steel Workers of Terni, which, in 1916, had a total capital of 57,000,000 lire, had, in 1918, a capital of 111,000,000 lire. The Italian Metallurgical Society increased its capital from 25,000,000 lire to 44,000,000 lire from 1916 to 1918, and the Steel Company of Savona, from 24,000,000 to 72,500,000 lire. The Steel and Iron Syndicate, Franchi and Gregorini, realized 777 per cent profit in three years. The Iron Works Company of Voltri made 29,000,000 lire, while Magone d'Italia Company gained 26,000,000. Similar great profits were made by the Steel and Iron Company of Caleotto and the Steel and Iron Company of Novi Ligure and others.

The cost of living during the war, claimed the workers, had increased more than 400 per cent, while wages had advanced less than 300 per cent. Before the war the skilled workers in Turin, Milan and the other big centers earned about 10 lire a day, while in 1920, despite all the increases and bonuses, they hardly earned 20 lire a day. They therefore felt justified in asking an increase of 20 per cent and a fixed minimum wage for the unskilled workers.

But the employers were deaf to the workers' demands. Their attorneys declared that the granting of the increase would lead to a depression of the industry. A ton of coal, they declared, cost 387 lire in Germany, 726 in England, 833 in France, 718 in Belgium, while the poor industrials in Italy had to pay 1,860 lire. Similarly a ton of pig iron ore which cost 1,010 lire in England, 840 in Germany, 1,220 in France, 1,270 in Belgium, sold in Italy at 1,230 lire.

To these arguments the representatives of the workers pointed to the war profits of these industries and asked that they be allowed to investigate the books of the manufacturers. This demand angered the employers and trouble started. The labor union officials, mindful of the fact that the last general strike of the metal workers had cost the labor organizations 15,000,000 lire, besides the individual hardships and expenses of the workers, decided on tactics of a different nature than heretofore. The new method hit upon was that of obstructionism, and the workers were asked to slacken production and to waste as much raw material as possible with the result that the manufacturers would lose a sum equivalent to the wage increase demanded. This policy was

followed with disastrous results to the bosses, who replied by the declaration of a lockout.

The Employers' Stand

This action was decided upon the first of September at the meeting of the General Council of the Industrials' National Federation held in Milan. "Obstructionism," maintained the Federation, "has always degenerated into a state of complete anarchy in the plants, causing, through a masked 'white' strike, the almost total suspension of production and a useless waste of fuel and raw materials."

Obstructionism, they complained, had revealed itself as a "sabotage" against property as well as against individuals. They could not therefore afford longer to show a spirit of tolerance. Only after this abnormal and illegal state of affairs had ceased, they asserted, would it be possible to take into consideration the demands of the labor union.

Following this action, the *Fiom,* organ of the metal workers, after exposing the bad faith of the Industrials in their attempt to conceal their plans of a general lockout, reminded the workers that the struggle already had its victims in Genoa where the Royal Guards made an assault on the workers to wrest the plants from them. It concluded:

"We earnestly appeal to all the workers to observe the working regulations and to do all they can to prevent useless waste of time in the works. All of us must see to it that, on account of technical deficiency, the work shall not suffer any disorganization. Meetings and mass meetings must be held after working hours, either during lunch time or between shifts."

The Significance of the Struggle

No destruction of machinery, no waste of raw materials, but work, increased production, efficiency—this was the program of the metal workers when they became masters of the plants. They won a great victory. They had only demanded an increase in their wages, but they gained a voice in the control of industry. This will mean that, from now on, the workers, as well as the stockholders, will sit on the Board of Directors. Strangely enough, among the leaders in the movement to give the workers a larger say in the management of the plants is the Fiat, one of the largest automobile producers in the world, and a firm which, as documents discovered in its safe by the workers revealed, had contributed the largest sums in the fight of the manufacturers against the unionist movement. This firm has already changed its producing system to a coöperative basis.

There are many extremists who are not satisfied with the solution of the controversy. They aimed at nothing less than a general revolutionary movement at this time. But the intelligent and able labor leaders, foreseeing the disaster that would result from a general movement of expropriation on account of the country's lack of coal, iron, steel and other raw materials, controlled by the Allies, and the fear of an Allied blockade, felt that the best way of solving the problem was to take the safest course.

Only the future will demonstrate the saneness of the stand taken by the labor leaders. This struggle of the metal workers is a great achievement of the whole Italian working class. It has shown the enemies of the socialist movement that socialism is not bound to destroy but to construct, to produce. It has shown the workers throughout the world what they can do if they only wish it. Finally, it has shown that the intellectual workers and the technicians would gladly work for the benefit of humanity instead of for the capitalists. For these reasons, the workers' victory has demonstrated that capitalism is doomed beyond the hope of recovery.

The Second Socialist Ouster

Louis Waldman

THE special session of the New York State Legislature called for September 20, 1920, has a greater claim to distinction than its consideration of the housing situation. It will be remembered for its treatment of the socialist assemblymen,

ousted from the legislature in the spring of 1920, because of membership in the Socialist Party.

Socialists Reelected

Each of the five men expelled was renominated during the summer as candidate in the special election of September 16. The democrats and republicans fused in every district and placed large resources back of the fusion candidates. Every legal advantage was on their side. As the day of the special election was not a holiday, many socialist voters, who are largely workers, were unable to vote. Nevertheless the socialist candidates won by majorities larger than ever before. As was to be expected, the total vote cast was much less than at the last regular election. In the general election of November the socialists received about 45 per cent of the total vote in the five Assembly districts; this election they received over 61 per cent.

With the reelection of the five, the special session became the talk of the country. Speculation was rife. What will Albany do this time? Has the Assembly profited by its last experience? Is this Assembly incapable of learning? Will the rebuke which the Assembly received from the people in the five districts have any effect on the "100 per cent Americans" in the Capitol?

Speaker Sweet, upon learning the results of the election, had "nothing to say" until he consulted his "fellow members." Republican leaders, who protested the original ouster, would not commit themselves. It was understood, however, that influential men in the Republican Party had set to work to keep the Albany crowd in line. Responsible republicans had become anxious. Six weeks before a state and national election! It would be suicide to repeat the ouster performance. A hurried conference in Albany was called for Sunday, September 19th, to be attended by spokesmen for Harding and for Judge Miller, republican candidate for Governor.

Meanwhile, we socialists were celebrating our victory at great mass-meetings. Between speeches, we studied the latest developments in the housing situation, the newly hatched conspiracies of the building trust, and the Assembly rules of 1920 under which we might have to fight for our seats. And not least of all we were concerned with the question, who "threw the bomb" that caused the Wall Street explosion. News came from Albany that special guards had been thrown around the Capitol in anticipation of our arrival!

The Albany Reception

Sunday afternoon, amidst the cheers of our comrades, we took our departure from New York, ready to contribute our share to the solution of the housing problem, a question of particular importance to the people of our district. Although we were ready with proposals for the establishment of a sound housing policy, we decided not to introduce any bills on this subject until we were certain of our status. In case of another expulsion, we did not wish to leave these proposals without active advocates on the floor, for the tenants had no real spokesmen among the old party members of the legislature.

When we arrived at Albany on Monday morning, the newspapers carried screaming headlines stating "Republican caucus decides to seat the socialists." Prominent old party men greeted us in the hotel and conveyed the same news. "There will be no ouster," said a republican leader to us, "because we don't want you to make political capital at our expense. And we will not avail ourselves of any technicalities either."

On the other hand, there were rumors that the Secretary of State would not administer the oath of office. We presented ourselves at the office of this personage at about eleven-thirty in the morning. The large room on the second floor of the Secretary's office was filled with newspapermen and camera operators. We voted down a proposal to take our oath later in the Senate Chamber in order to give the movie men an opportunity to "take" us, and were told that the Secretary would give us the oath after he had finished "an important telephone conversation with someone in Buffalo."

Secretary Hugo soon came out and shook hands with each of us. We signed our names in the good book, from which the roll call is taken, raised our hands and repeated aloud every word he read from the oath prescribed in the Constitution.

All through the afternoon we were preparing for the battle at eight-thirty in the evening, when the session was to open. We had our advance guard, our rear guard, our heavy artillery. Upon one thing we all agreed. There would be no retreat and no surrender. We did not underestimate the strength of the enemy. We knew they greatly outnumbered us. But we also knew that their morale was bad. They were floundering without a policy, without a chart or compass, and, above all, their people at home had turned against them. On the other hand, our little army was thoroughly united, our morale was high, our policy clear and consistent. And above all we knew that our constituencies were solidly back of us and that we had the sympathetic support of a large portion of our enemies' constituencies.

The Session Opens

At eight o'clock the Chamber was crowded to capacity. People came to see how Speaker Sweet would make it possible for the Assembly to slide out of the embarrassing position it had created for itself or again to oust the five socialist Assemblymen from their seats.

As soon as we took our seats, we became the objects of attention. Friendly members came to shake hands, expressing satisfaction with the results of the special election. Visitors who heard us branded as "perpetual traitors" on March 31st and saw us expelled, came to offer their felicitations. Newspapermen wandered over to chat and to figure out possibilities. Eight-thirty, nine, nine-thirty, nine-forty-five, the session had not opened. The Assemblymen were there, the house was crowded to suffocation, the scheduled time for opening had now passed by over an hour and a quarter and Speaker Sweet was not in his place. Something was wrong. The steam-roller was not in shape. It finally leaked out that republican leaders were meeting with the speaker in his private room and were demanding that he read a certain statement which they had carefully prepared.

At ten minutes to ten, the speaker appeared, accompanied by a clergyman. He rapped for order. He looked very serious and very important. The minister prayed that God give wisdom to the members of the legislature. Judging from the performance a half hour later, the gates of heaven must have been tightly closed to the prayer.

After a recess of several months, it would have been the natural thing to call the roll. But no roll call was ordered. If it had been, our names would have been called, and our rights would have had to be determined immediately. We were determined, however, to force the issue at the first opportunity. That opportunity soon came.

Hardly had the reading of the messages from the Governor been completed, than Assemblyman Gillett of Columbia County rose to introduce a "privileged" resolution. Since the resolution was not a privileged one, and needed unanimous consent to be introduced, I rose to register my objection. The speaker did not hear me, nor did he see me rise. He ordered the clerk to read the resolution. As expected, the resolution called for our expulsion on the basis of "facts" found at the last "trial."

When the clerk finished reading, I rose to make a point of order. The house was hushed. The speaker turned in my direction. "Mr. Waldman is recognized," he said. I stated my point of order. Before the speaker could decide, Louis Cuvillier, Tammany Assemblyman, was on his feet shouting: "A point of order! Mr. Waldman is not a member of this house." The speaker ruled that, inasmuch as I was regularly elected and as I took the oath of office, I was a member. The decision was greeted with applause from members and visitors. Mr. Cuvillier appealed from the decision of the chair. The members, most of whom may rightfully boast of having the courage of their boss's convictions, overwhelmingly sustained the speaker.

Speaker Sweet Speaks

My point of order was thereupon overruled and the resolution went to the judiciary committee. Immediately thereafter, the speaker rose to read a statement. This statement praised the members for their "patriotism" in expelling the five socialists last March. It explained to them that the Socialist Party, yielding to a loyal and patriotic Assembly, had reformed and purged itself. This being so, the Assembly would accept them into its society and would play with them. The statement concluded: "And that these thoughts may have time to mature, and that our final course may be justly and wisely determined, I recommend that the house now be adjourned until eleven o'clock tomorrow morning."

Charles Solomon was on his feet trying to get recognition on a point of personal privilege. But the speaker appeared not to hear nor to see him. He recognized Majority Leader Adler, who moved to adjourn. The spectators left. The show was dull. Everything was cut and dry. It had all been prearranged in the little room back of the Chamber. The program was put through as prepared. The steam-roller was no respecter of persons nor of the Assembly rules.

When we arrived at the Chamber next morning a little before eleven, we were told that a course had been agreed upon. Our fate was sealed. Three of us, Solomon, Claessens and myself, were to go; De Witt and Orr were to stay.

Again the session failed to begin on schedule time. Not until 2:30 did Speaker Sweet rap for order. The first matter before the house was the report of the Judiciary Committee. By a vote of seven to six, the committee reported the resolution without recommendations. Six were against reporting it at all.

The Debate

The debate opened in the same spirit in which it had been conducted on March 31st. "They are disloyal, they are traitors," shouted one speaker. "They ought to be in jail instead of the Assembly," said another. "These men committed perjury when they came here and took their oath of office," cried a third. "No one can tell me that sincere repentance came to them so quickly after their disloyal conduct during the war."

At this point, I asked for the floor. I told the members what I thought of their opinion of us. After reviewing the successive events leading to the resolution before the house, I said:

"For myself, I did not rise to make any apology. I did not rise to defend my principles before you. I have learned from the history of the United States that the people, and the people alone, are the sovereigns in this country, not the one hundred and fifty members of the Assembly, not the one hundred and forty-five members of the Assembly, but the people. In each district the people determine by their vote who shall come here to speak for their cause and their ideas. . . .

"You call me disloyal. Disloyal to whom? I confess that I am disloyal to the food profiteers. I confess that I am disloyal to the Real Estate Association. I confess that I am disloyal to those who live on the sweat, the labor and the blood of the great masses of the people of the United States. But I affirm, with all the power at my command, that I am loyal to the people of the United States.

"You ask me what have I done for the United States. My answer is that I tried to fight the greatest enemy of the United States—poverty. Poverty, gentlemen, is the greatest enemy of the United States and of the world, for it is the cause of crime, ignorance and disease."

August Claessens spoke with biting sarcasm. He told the Assemblymen not to take themselves too seriously. He said:

"As for myself, inwardly and outwardly, I laugh at the whole proceedings. You threw us out last time; like the old cat, we came back. If you throw us out again, we'll come back with kittens. . . .

"What is the use of talking to you, a prejudiced jury, when we can talk to the people? We appealed from your last decision, and the people sent us here by larger majorities. We will appeal to the people again."

Colonel Gillett, after complimenting the socialists upon their eloquence and intelligence, proceeded to tell the Assembly that socialism was all wrong and that it intended to crush individualism. He finally announced the novel doctrine that *"the five men*

had been sent back by wrong-headed, obstinate, unthinking constituencies and should be thrown out"!

Solomon followed. He opened by addressing himself to Colonel Gillett, who was but two seats away from him.

"If," said Solomon, "we are intelligent, if we are earnest, if we have a contribution to make, if it is something that has value, then I ask this question of Colonel Gillett: 'How do you expect us to make this contribution? Shall we make it through the ballot box, or shall we take it elsewhere?' You shall answer that question here this afternoon.

"Let me remind you, and I challenge successful contradiction from any of you; there are only two ways in which any social question can be settled. One is the way of peace, at the ballot box; the other is the way of violence, with bombs, bullets, bayonets and bloodshed. . . .

"If you choke up the channels that lead to a peaceful solution, along what other channel shall we travel?"

Anticipating the decision to expel his three comrades and to seat him and De Witt, Samuel Orr rose to warn the Assembly that he would not be a party to such a miserable and senseless compromise. He said: "We are not going to permit ourselves to be made scape goats. We are not going to stay here, if Claessens, Solomon and Waldman are thrown out."

Then came Marty McCue, Tammany man and ex-saloon keeper. He engaged in a vituperative personal attack upon the Assemblymen. Samuel De Witt, the single new member in our group, was left to handle McCue. He startled the Assembly when he pointed a finger at the ex-saloon keeper, saying: "Mr. McCue, I sold more liberty bonds than there were schooners of beer sold over the bar of your saloon."

The Expulsion Repeated

The vote showed that the whole affair was pre-arranged. After seven hours of debate, the vote was taken, Waldman, Solomon, and Claessens being expelled by a vote of 90 to 45 in each case. On the question of expelling Orr and De Witt, 48 voted in favor and 87 against.

Upon the announcement of the result by the speaker, Samuel De Witt secured recognition on a point of personal privilege. In a bitter arraignment of the Assembly and their brand of Americanism, he refused to sit in an assembly, the majority of whose members were "un-American and disloyal." He declared:

"Inasmuch as this Assembly has decided that my comrades are unfit to sit here, I have the right now to sit in judgment on the qualification of the men who judged my comrades, and I refuse to sit in a body that is so un-American. I resign."

Samuel Orr followed De Witt, saying:

"We will not stand to have the socialists made the football of politics. You have proved yourselves un-American, and this opinion will be held by the electorate of the entire country. Until this house purges itself of the un-American men now in this body, I will refuse to sit with them."

With this said, we walked out of the Chamber resolved to carry the message of socialism into every district in the state of New York.

The Unity of British Labor

Alfred G. Baker Lewis

RADICALS in the British labor movement differ from those in many other countries in this respect: when they disagree with the moderate and compromising attitude of the majority of their associates, they refuse to withdraw into a separate organization where they can be radical or revolutionary all by themselves. They continue to work for their principles inside the larger and more conservative body. At times they also retain membership in a separate organization affiliated with the larger group.

Thus the Independent Labor Party, which is distinctly socialist, is affiliated with the more conservative Labor Party. The recently-formed Communist Party, made up of all those communists who believe in carrying on election work, has likewise applied for membership in the Labor Party.[1] This policy

[1] This application has recently been denied.

enables the radicals continuously to obtain a respectful hearing for their doctrines, and wards off any bitter opposition that might otherwise be expected from within the labor movement.

The Labor Party and Foreign Policy

Their policy has had excellent results. Prior to the war the Labor Party was a harmless sort of organization, little more than the radical wing of the Liberal Party, which it constantly supported in Parliament. Now, because of the steady pressure exerted by the Independent Labor Party, it has gone steadily toward the left. It repudiates all coöperation with the Liberals in bye-elections, although such coöperation would deprive the hated Coalition of many of its seats. It has taken a stand in its annual conference very close to the socialist position.

During the war the Labor Party was pro-war, although by no means jingo. Nevertheless, the Independent Labor Party, the anti-war group, continued to retain its affiliation with the Labor Party, with the result that this group has now convinced the Labor Party that the government's course, especially as shown in the peace terms, was an imperialistic one, unworthy of the support of the labor movement. Consequently the Labor Party at its annual conference unanimously passed resolutions denouncing the peace treaties for their harshness toward Germany and for their breach of faith.

And, as Robert Smillie said, there was none so poor as to do the government's policy reverence. Even those who had previously been strongly pro-war pointed out the imperialistic nature of the peace and the responsibility of the British government for the starvation and chaos in Europe and for the support of the White Terror in Hungary and Finland. This unity is largely due to the fact that the anti-war group, who looked on the war as the product, not of the Kaiser's wickedness, but of capitalist imperialism in which all nations were nearly equally guilty, continued to press their ideas within the Labor Party, even though but a tiny minority.

Direct Action

On the subject of direct action the same policy has been pursued. Instead of having direct actionists and political actionists sharply defined and at daggers drawn, the chief question argued when direct action is suggested, is whether it would be likely to succeed. The workers see clearly that the distinction drawn by Lloyd George and others between the legitimacy of a strike for industrial purposes and one for political purposes is not a sound one, as the government is constantly legislating in regard to industrial matters of vital importance to trade unionists.

By remaining in the organization, the champions of direct action have gradually made the whole movement familiar with the idea. Hence, when war with Soviet Russia was threatened, direct action was agreed to unanimously, with the whole-hearted approval of men who had hitherto been among the extreme right.

Industrial Unionism

Similarly, the advocates of industrial unionism or the One Big Union have not withdrawn into a separate organization when their recommendations were voted down at the Trade Union Congress. As a result, instead of splitting the present craft unions, they are putting through a considerable number of amalgamations and are thus gradually transforming the unions to an industrial basis. They are also building up the powerful union of "general workers" which now contains about a million unskilled workers. The National Union of Railwaymen is open to every class of railway worker—skilled, unskilled, clerical and managerial. The Transport Workers' Federation is also practically an industrial union, while plans are under way to reorganize the executive committee along the lines of the One Big Union.

The Coöperative Movement

Within the coöperative movement a political party has been started in the last three years,

and has obtained one seat in Parliament. The more radical members of the Coöperative Party are more interested in convincing their fellow-coöperators of the necessity for independent political action than in making the less radical members of the Coöperative Party see the desirability of affiliating with the Labor Party. Consequently they have left in abeyance the proposal to effect an amalgamation between the Labor Party and the Coöperative Party, until they could convince the coöperative movement as a whole of the necessity for going into politics. Meanwhile they always work in harmony with the Labor Party in each constituency during the Parliamentary elections.

The energy of the radicals in the British labor movement is spent much less in forming organizations carefully purged of all except advanced radicals than in hurrying up the laggards in the march of labor toward more radical views. The method has proved wonderfully successful. The labor movement as a whole is steadily advancing toward the acceptance of views that a short time ago had only a few adherents.

The Nonpartisan League: A Criticism

Arthur Le Sueur

THE Nonpartisan league is an attempt on the part of an industrial group to use political power for industrial purposes. As a result of this group's demand for state-owned mills, elevators, and banks, it has won political success. So far as its platform is concerned, however, these state industries might be operated either through the political state or through an industrial administration. In practice they are managed by a political body, the Industrial commission, composed of the Governor, the Attorney General, and the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor.

Instability of Industry

A great weakness of the league's program lies in the possibility of defeat in elections, which would put the entire industrial program into the hands of its enemies. Thus a temporary shifting of the political opinion of a small group may change the whole industrial policy of the state. Under such circumstances, there can be no stability, no sense of confidence in the future of the enterprises, a condition which is absolutely essential to industrial building.

In rebuttal the advocates of the present plan state that the people, by the election of this ex-officio Industrial commission every two years, have a veto on the industrial program of the state. This argument, however, brings out the most serious criticism of all—the people have, it is true, a veto on the program, but they have absolutely *no veto* on the skill with which it is administered. They must take it as it is, or vote for the opposition and destroy it altogether. While the presentation of this alternative may aid a political machine in its fight for continued existence and may enable it to stifle criticism not only of itself but also of the method of administering industries, yet surely it is a bad thing for the industries themselves. The farmers must fight as hard every two years to maintain their industries as they fought to establish them. This may mean success and permanency for a political organization, but does it mean success and permanency for the industries themselves?

Political Management

Three things are absolutely necessary to the root of the matter—namely, that political government is not adapted to industrial administration—especially political government in the democratic form, with frequent elections and constant change.

This truth was realized by the miners of England when they urged that the mines and minerals be owned, but not administered, by the government. The railroad workers of the United States are also recognizing the same truth when they demand government

ownership but administration by the industry and the public—*not* by politically elected officials.

Continuity of Management

Three things are absolutely necessary to the successful building of a great industry: Continuity of management, competency, and responsibility. Not months, but years, are required in the development of an industry. Plans must be laid, the results of which may not accrue in years. That the Nonpartisan league recognizes this requirement of continuity in successful administration is shown by their returning to office the same Governor, Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, and Attorney-General, for two successive terms and the recent nomination of the first two for a third term. But under our political psychology, will it be possible to keep them in office for more than three terms? Much of the confidence of the residents of North Dakota in the industrial program rests upon their confidence in the sterling integrity and ability of these two men. The Attorney-General has been called a traitor—one out of three. What would have been the fate of the industrial program had there been two mistakes out of three?

Competency

As has been stated, the three members of the Industrial commission are not elected as such, but hold their positions ex officio. In addition, they are ex-officio members of other commissions and boards, among them the State Banking board, the Board of Education, and the Workmen's Compensation board.

But, it is argued, these three men will not carry on the active management. They will employ experts for that. Well and good, but the supervision remains, and demands time and understanding. These men are not superhuman. Other duties under the state government are also of great importance, and their time and energy have limits.

The hiring of experts, moreover, is becoming increasingly difficult, by reason of the fact that the Industrial commission cannot make a contract for a longer period than two years. The necessities of the situation and the political character of the control will, moreover, force the political administration to lay the blame for any failure of the industries on the hired managers. In addition to these things, the law provides that the Industrial commission may discharge at will with or without cause.

At the present time, when the political existence of the league depends upon making good in North Dakota, the industries are somewhat safeguarded from the interference of politics in making technical appointments, but, as the industries develop, this danger increases. A powerful political machine will, in the very nature of things, develop, with the attendant evils of the spoils system, bureaucracy, and incompetency. It is the oft-repeated history of political administration of industry.

Responsibility of Management

The Nonpartisan league plan provides for extreme centralization of power, but for little responsibility. There is no check operating daily on the management. The officers are responsible to the people once in two years—on election day only.

A political majority can neither administer nor supervise the operation of an industry. Administration is the work of experts. Supervision is the function of the elected representatives of the people. When it is attempted to vest administration and supervision in the same board, as in the present instance, then there is no supervision and, therefore, no responsibility. This leaves us with all of the poison of autocracy and none of the antidote, constant and immediate responsibility.

Interlocking Directorates

This lack of effective responsibility is illustrated in connection with the state bank. Two members of the Industrial commission are members of the Banking board, to which all banks in the state are required to report. Thus the majority of the Industrial commis-

sion which runs the bank also constitutes the majority of the banking board to which reports of the state bank must be made.

Another outstanding criticism is the constant danger of having a single management for the industries and the bank. These industries as they develop will be big financial customers of the bank. Good judgment must be exercised in the matter of financing both for the good of the industries and for the good of the bank. Can this be exercised by *one* board managing all? Can a banker always exercise impartial judgment in loaning to himself as a manufacturer? Can a board of three, with the best intentions and the completest integrity, always accomplish this?

One biting criticism of big business has been the interlocking directorates which put irresponsible power into too few hands. Yet even on these boards there are always some new men giving, at least in a measure, the necessary check and balance.

Every experiment we have undertaken indicates that political government cannot administer industry successfully. The progressive movement everywhere is away from political administration of industry and toward industrial administration. The political state, however, as the representative of all the citizens, does possess a tremendous inhibitory, or supervisory power, which furnishes an ideal check on industrial power.

An Industrial commission exercising such supervisory power as this over long-term separate boards in each industry, removable only for cause, would solve most of the difficulties of the situation. Under existing conditions in North Dakota, these boards of managers could be appointed by the Industrial commission, since these industries are being built from the bottom up in a state which is primarily agricultural and not industrial. As the industries develop, it would seem more compatible with modern ideas of democratization of industry for the management of the industries to develop from within or to be maintained jointly with representation from the public.

North Dakota has not as yet faced this problem, but she undoubtedly will, and a supervisory Industrial commission with separate boards of management for the industries could be readily evolved from such a plan without any dislocation of the industries.

Labor and the League

The question of labor's share in the control of industry has never been raised in connection with the relations existing between the Nonpartisan league and organized labor. The league has recognized the defensive program of labor—collective bargaining, the eight-hour day, minimum wage, workmen's compensation, etc. The farmers are the numerical majority in North Dakota, but the league knows it cannot win in industrial states without the support of organized labor, and organized labor realizes that its only chance for political control is by uniting with the organized farmers.

How far the farmers will recognize the aggressive program of labor as expressed in the control and management of industry remains to be seen. There is no intimation of such recognition in their industrial program—and doubtless, no reason why there should be, since labor has raised no such question and seems entirely satisfied with the league's recognition of their defensive program, namely, their trade union standards.

Conclusion

But aside from this question of labor representation, the plan of separate long term boards would give the continuity necessary for constructive planning, attract able experts and provide needed checks on management. Each industry would be given an opportunity to stand on its own feet, and would not fall because of the mistakes of a board of directors in another industry.

Nor would the industries be used to build up a powerful political machine—at least the danger would be minimized as far as possible under present conditions. On the contrary, a sound industrial morale would develop.

The I. W. W.: An American Export[1]

Its Relation to Certain Ideas in the British Labor Movement.

J. T. Murphy

EVERY attempt to establish the I. W. W. on a large scale in Great Britain has failed. The long, steady growth of the trade union movement has presented us with phenomena of such a character, that the industrial unionists, who set out to build new industrial unions to compete with and ultimately to wipe out the older trade unions, stood little chance of success.

The organization known as the Industrial Workers of Great Britain, which later changed its name to the Workers' International Industrial Union ("Workers' Union") and stood for practically the same kind of organization as the I. W. W., has reached a membership of about 4,000 at best. The Building Workers' Industrial Union has been subject to a similar fate, and for exactly the same reasons which determined the form and character of the Workers' Union.

The Workers' Union

The pioneers of the Workers' Union—Tom Mann and Charles Duncan—looked to this union as an all-embracing union of the working class.

But because there existed prior to its formation, large, stable organizations of skilled workers, whose vested interests and traditions had not yet been thoroughly disturbed, they could only absorb or enroll those workers who were outside these unions. Hence the Workers' Union became largely a union of general labor, unskilled and semi-skilled. That it enrolled numbers of skilled men is true, but ere long they were arranging agreements with skilled unions with regard to what is called poaching of members.

The vested interests of the trade unions, such as out-of-work pay, superannuation, sick benefit and so on, produced a conservatism which has been a considerable bulwark against the onslaughts of the I. W. W. and the corresponding British organizations. It must not be thought, however, because these organizations are small, that the propaganda of industrial unionism has had no effect.

Socialist Labor Party

Since 1903, when the Social Democratic Federation split on the issue of industrial unionism, a small but vigorous body known as the Socialist Labor Party has carried on a persistent propaganda. Its principal center has been Glasgow, and in this city the Industrial Workers of Great Britain thrived best and here also probably more experiments have been tried in the application of the industrial unionist principles than in any other town in Britain.

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[1] This is an article by a member of the "Extreme Left" on the ideas, the men, the instinctive mass movements, and the economic conditions, which enter into the revolutionary wing of British labor. An American will note that the impulse has received a little of its shaping from American influences and sources. This is natural, because a partially suppressed labor movement, such as that of unskilled labor in the United States, swings to the left.

To the average American, especially one under the hectic tutelage of the newspaper headline writers, the I. W. W. has stood for nothing more than the tactics with which its chief branches became identified at an early stage (sabotage, for example). That it was a groping after a newer and more satisfying industrial structure by the underlying body of unskilled and migratory labor, left out of the existing trade union system, has not been so readily recognized. The influence of the American movement upon British labor, where tendencies are more mature and can be more easily visualized, may be of service in appraising it as a factor in later American developments.

This article is written by J. T. Murphy, perhaps the most brilliant mind among the shop stewards. He is Chairman of the Sheffield Workers' Committee. He sets out the effect of the various British Socialist Party groups, of the educational classes, of the propaganda of industrial unionism and the syndicalists, on the growth of the unofficial industrial movement of Great Britain, of which the shop stewards are one manifestation. The shop stewards created during the war many of the workers' committees to which Mr. Murphy refers.

ARTHUR GLEASON

James Connolly, the Irish labor leader, who perished in the Easter rising, was one of the pioneers of industrial unionism in Glasgow, and his pamphlet, "Socialism Made Easy," is still widely sold. The Socialist Labor Party remained small in membership for a long time, but the small group of men who were trained in their classes have since played a prominent part in the struggles toward industrial unionism through the many industrial fights in Glasgow and elsewhere. Arthur MacManus, chairman of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees, was one of the group, as also was J. W. Muir, of the Clyde Workers' Committee, W. Paul, who has done much to spread the class movement in the Midlands, and T. Bell, ex-president of the Scottish Ironmoulders, now editor of the *Socialist*.

In the classes, the works of Marx, Engels, Morgan, De Leon, were thoroughly studied. Hence we find the materialist conception of history stressed as a means to understand social movements, and industrial unionism as the solution to society's problems. For a considerable period these men simply reflected De Leon, and it was not until they had passed through many experiences that we can see an independent direction given to the impulse towards industrial unionism, coincident with the peculiarities of British labor history. All these men experimented with the Industrial Workers of Great Britain at its inception, and later, launched into the shop stewards movement.

The Socialist Labor Party started its own press, and from here have come incessantly for years thousands of De Leon's pamphlets, and Kerr's social science and sociological publications. However insignificant the party membership may have been, the work of the press has been influential in the fermentation of ideas on industrial unionism.

The Independent Labor Party (the opportunist, socialist left wing of the British Labor Party) has never stood for industrial unionism. Neither has the British Socialist Party (Marxian socialists) until last year, when it half-heartedly supported it. The tendency of these two political parties is to support trades-unionism, and stress the conquest of Parliament. But through numbers of their branches the publications have circulated and a goodly number of the members of each party now propagate the Socialist Labor Party slogan.

Change of Tactics

The Socialist Labor Party from its inception was so severe in its restrictions on the liberty of its members so far as theory and practice were concerned that its development was retarded. Since the Russian revolution and as a result also of the experiences of S. L. P. members in the industrial conflicts of the last four years, there has been a recasting of the constitution, which now recommends the same kind of industrial organization as the Workers' Committees. The party preamble reads, after making the same declaration with regard to the class struggle as the I. W. W. drew up at the 1905 Chicago convention,

> The unit of organization industrially is the workshop or yard committee, wherein the workers are organized as workers, irrespective of craft, grade, or sex. These committees are co-ordinated by the formation of works or plant committees, composed of delegates from each workshop or yard committee. The plant or works committees are co-ordinated by delegates from each of these committees, in a village, town, city, or district, forming a workers' council, in which there are also delegates from the residential committees, these latter being the units of the social aspects of the organization.

In addition to the Socialist Labor Party, the Workers' Socialist Federation, the British Socialist Party, and the Communist League advocated practically the same structure. These organizations in large part have recently fused into a single Communist Party. When it is considered, too, that a section of the Independent Labor Party is working in accord with those mentioned, it will be recognized that however structurally insignificant the movement may appear, its ideas are spreading among the organized workers in no small volume.

The Labor College

England has been subject to propaganda influences from two other directions, viz., the

Central Labor College, and syndicalist propagandists such as Tom Mann. With regard to the Labor College, which is now the possession of the National Union of Railwaymen and the South Wales Miners' Federation, the clear-cut Marxian teaching conducted there has resulted in the production of a number of active industrial unionists, who have gone back particularly to the Welsh coalfields and exercised great influence.

The students produce a magazine of their own called the *Plebs Magazine,* and by forming classes in many towns and districts, give an impetus to working class education. Every week hundreds of classes under the auspices either of the Central Labor College or the Socialist Labor Party, or some local labor college group, affiliated to the Central Labor College, are grappling with economics, industrial history, and such like subjects. The effect was commented upon by the Government Commissioners of Industrial Unrest in 1917, particularly in South Wales.

In nearly every large town classes, varying from thirty to eighty members, are attending several nights per week during the winter months. The writer, during the whole of last winter for example, had two classes per week, with an average attendance of forty students. Other teachers were doing likewise. Now, when it is remembered that these classes are producing industrial unionist students capable of expressing themselves, it will be realized that weighty forces are persistently at work throughout the whole of the trade union organizations, suggesting and applying the principles for which they stand.

In South Wales in particular, men such as Noah Ablett, Reynolds, and Mainwaring, with many others, have succeeded in making marked advances in the direction of industrial unionism, not by creating a fresh organization, but by modifying the existing organizations and bringing the South Wales Miners' Federation in part under their control.

The Central Labor College is now called the Labor College. It has twenty-seven students in residence, but through correspondence and tutorial classes, it reaches 6,000 students a year.

Tom Mann and the Syndicalists

With regard to the syndicalists, Tom Mann has been undoubtedly the outstanding figure. Regarded by many as the "Stormy Petrel" of the British labor movement, he has yet had a remarkable influence in several important directions. His efforts to organize the unskilled workers are well known; so also the part he played in the dockers' strike of 1889, and the railway strike of 1911. His positive contributions lie in those directions, along with his amalgamation propaganda as exemplified in his campaign for syndicalism. His anti-parliamentarism created a prejudice against him for a long time, which now becomes an asset, as the feeling against parliamentarism becomes more general.

For some reason he has not yet given, he entered and topped the poll in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers' *parliamentary* candidate election. It is this apparent vacillation in tactics and his repeated appearance in unexpected quarters that have created a certain amount of distrust as to his capacity to hold the leading-strings of an organization such as the A. S. E. He had tried to become general secretary of this society several times and failed, but he succeeded in getting this position in 1919 by an overwhelming vote.

Mann likes the freedom of the "freelance," to be a working-class gladiator in any part of the arena where the fight is raging, and whilst preaching organization chafes at the restraint which organization imposes. He has had a dramatic career, a wide experience, and is, besides being an agitator, capable of leadership. But any office will sit lightly upon him for the temperamental reasons I have indicated. At sixty-four, he is full of vitality, and the glamor of the fight is upon him. He may head a revolutionary movement, he may finish his career as an agitator, but to settle down as a mundane official seems to those who know him as likely an event as to see him settle down as a poultry keeper. In any case he has rendered good service to the industrial unionist move-

ment by his amalgamation propaganda and his support of the Workers' Committees.

Mann picked up American syndicalist ideas in Australia, and further studied syndicalism in France. On his return to England, he carried on a powerful propaganda on the platform and through pamphlets and the press. He did much to popularize the idea of the short working day.

He received an ovation at the Trades Union Congress of December, 1919. As secretary of the A. S. E., the king craft union, he is now inside the citadel, and his influence upon the machinists will be powerful in these critical years. It is possible that he will bulk almost as large in the headlines of 1921 as Mr. Smillie did in those of 1919 and 1920.

But even with Tom Mann, the syndicalist, the movement takes the form of propaganda for amalgamation of existing organizations. It is in this direction that industrial unionism has found expression in Great Britain until the rise of the unofficial fighting workers' committees. There has been an amalgamation movement in the engineering industry. The rise of the unofficial shop stewards movement, however, meant the supersession of the amalgamation committees.

Organizations by Industry or Class?

Such have been the main elements giving direction to the tendencies towards the modification of the industrial organization of the British working class. They have now undergone a marked change, and because they represent the advance guard of the movement, with consciously formulated ideas, it is well that we should observe the character of the change.

The 1905 I. W. W. convention in America formulated a scheme of organization by industry. Each industry was to have its own particular union and these unions to be federated into one big organization. The National Guildsmen of Great Britain, as well as the old industrial unionists, still stand for this form of organization. It should be mentioned in passing that Cole and Mellor of the National Guilds League have helped considerably in the way of spreading these ideas among trade unionists. The change from this position since the Russian revolution, has been marked, and the left wing of the socialist movement now express themselves more in terms of communism. The quotation from the platform of the Socialist Labor Party indicates the difference.

The communists recognize the need of departmentalization according to industry, but insist on the industry being subordinate to the class character of organization. They therefore propagate a class organization with departments within it corresponding to industry. The difference may not appear to be much, but on close examination it is a matter deserving careful consideration.

Organization by industry involves the recognition of each industry and each industrial union as a separate entity, and the executives thereof would be responsible to each industry's workers alone. It would tend to produce a psychology of a sectional character, too, in that the primary thought would be to defend one industry's workers against the others.

On the other hand, the communists urge that the class principle should be applied throughout, and just as all the workshop committees of any plant, whether composed of building workers, transport workers, or engineers, are united in the works committee, so also *the works of a locality* should be united in the Workers' Council. Then any departmental committee set up would be responsible, not simply to a department, but to the whole council.

The rival scheme of organization in relation to the existing trade unions should be noted too. Organization by industry has its problems, there is no doubt. The National Union of Railwaymen and the miners approximate to an industrial union while the engineering workers and particularly the skilled workers are trying to shape themselves in the same direction.

There exists, at the same time, the General Workers' Union, the Workers' Union, the National Amalgamated Union of Labor, which are about to be fused. All these have

workers spread over quite a number of industries. If, therefore, organization by industry has to be established, this huge body of about a million workers will have to be divided up among those unions which approximate to the industrial unions.

If it be asked how all these bodies, political, educational, propagandist, are related to the Workers' Committee movement, I have to answer that their literature is distributed in the workshops and trade union branches; their propagandists address workshop meetings; their classes are open to all workers, for the members of all these bodies are personally part of the industrial movement, too. And it must not be forgotten that wherever the workers extend their organizations in the factories, wherever they assume responsibility, such activities stimulate the demand for classes, for literature and the like.

Other Forces

While the political parties, the educational bodies, the propagandists, are directly contributing to the most revolutionary aspects of the working-class movement in every respect, there are other bodies more moderate in political outlook, who are nevertheless contributing to the structural developments. Ruskin College, the Independent Labor Party, the Workers' Educational Association, while not revolutionary bodies, direct considerable attention to the established structure of the trade union movement and its developments.

The Whitley Report proposals and all schemes immediately adaptable to the existing order, appeal to these members of the working-class movement. Their attempts to apply them bring them up against the structural problems of trade unionism, and thus their practical experience compels them to contribute to the solution of the workers' difficulties on the very same lines as the extremists.

A simple illustration will make this clear. They wish the workers to share in control of their conditions in workshop and factory. To effect that, they must shift their ground from the trade union branch to the workshop. There, to have any organization at all, they must get the workers sufficiently interested to elect a shop committee. Immediately the problem of sectionalism is upon them. Experiment follows experiment to overcome the difficulties involved until it is eliminated. Thus are they doing the same thing as the extremists, viz., organizing the workshops and factories. The pressure of economic circumstances does the rest.

Developing Consciousness

For it must be clearly understood that, while all the efforts I have enumerated are going on, the workers as a whole have no conscious purpose. They do not visualize a new society and consciously march forward towards it. An ever increasing minority do that as the economic struggle proceeds, but the mass moves intuitively, consequent on the pressure of circumstances. Thus the social forces move, rise in their power, and the minority, conscious of the mightiest of these, anticipates it, interprets it, harnesses it, marches on to victory.

George Nasmyth[1]

Lewis S. Gannett

GEORGE NASMYTH was less known as a socialist than as a sociologist. All his early prejudices were anti-socialist; it was only as he came into touch with the socialist movement and felt the quality of its living idealism that he left academic theory behind and frankly placed himself as a socialist. He studied to become a physicist; but his years of study in pre-war Europe brought him into the international student movement and carried the center of his interest far outside the stone walls of the laboratories so that it became impossible for him to continue the career for which he had so long prepared. He devoted himself to the organization of Cosmopolitan Clubs in the

[1] George Nasmyth died in Switzerland in September, 1920.

American universities and similar organizations in France, England, Switzerland, Germany; then, as he came to sense the economic basis of international discord, he was carried first into the train of Norman Angell and Jacques Novicov, thinkers who were destroying the pseudo-scientific "justifications of war" and seeking to root out the terrific fatalism which so largely contributed to make war inevitable, and finally, like Norman Angell himself, into the labor camp.

Nasmyth never accepted the materialistic conception of history as a sufficient explanation of the past, or of the present of his own lifetime, but he found in the ranks of those who accepted Marxian materialism almost the only strain of international idealism vibrating in sympathy with the urge which determined his own life. With all his scientific training and his logical penetration of the errors of militarism, he had in him something of the prophet and the preacher: an unyielding faith in the ultimate sunrise, a belief in the men with whom he came into contact, and a dogged, determined, unwavering belief in the worthwhileness of continued preaching and propaganda. Although he spoke often at socialist gatherings, was an organizer of the Boston Trade Union College, and for a time a member of the executive committee of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, he felt that his own mission was rather to the unconverted, and he spent his last year in endeavoring to make Christianity a Christian force, to re-establish it as a force for international good-will and reconciliation—with what success cannot yet be judged. Whether time would have brought more of the loss of faith and the disillusionment which recent years have brought to so many of his contemporaries, whether it would have led him to cast himself whole-hearted into the labor movement as the only forward path, we shall never know. But George Nasmyth's friends—and there were many of them—will miss mightily his infectious faith and good will, his powerful handshake, and the warm smile that beamed down on lesser mortals from his six foot four.

To Siegfried Sassoon

(Written after the reading in New York, May 7, 1920, for the benefit of *The Socialist Review*)

Jessie Wallace Hughan

We liked your verses read last night;
Through lurid lanes of murky light
To wild sweet things of youth they led
And faces of the shy young dead.
For graybeard fools that break and blight
The young limbs firm, the young love white,
For blasting creed and Moloch rite
Our hot scorn shouted as you read—
We liked your verses.

Our spirits sang upon the height;
They wept and cursed beneath your might;
They bent the knee and bowed the head—
And then—we shook your hand instead
And, murmuring politely, said—
We liked your verses!

Education in Soviet Russia

By William Marias Malisoff

EDUCATION in Russia is both a Russian problem and a socialist problem, both a Russian achievement and a socialist achievement. Before the revolution, while other countries perverted education, Russia suppressed it. Because of this suppression, and because of the anti-revolutionary reaction of the intelligentsia, Commissar of Education Lunacharsky found Russia virgin soil. There was little weeding to be done.

Russia turned out to be comfortably illiterate, not by ninety per cent, as is usually thought in this country, but in perhaps half that proportion. The three largest cities measure up well:

Percentage of Literacy
Ages in 1917

Males	30 to 39 yrs.	40 to 49 yrs.	50 to 59 yrs.
Petrograd	90	80	78
Moscow	86	75	69
Odessa	79	67	72
Females			
Petrograd	81	62	53
Moscow	71	51	41
Odessa	61	53	43

A stumbling block to the new educational program, far greater than illiteracy, has been the attitude of the intelligentsia. The All-Russian Union of Teachers and the central apparatus of the former Ministry of Public Instruction had to be instructed by the proletariat how not to sabotage, how to be democratic and how to work earnestly for the cause of education. This element was won over through the efforts of the Commissariat of Public Instruction, the State Board of Public Education and the all-Russian conventions of educators.

The communist personnel in the educational system was clearly responsible for the rapid and revolutionary educational changes in Russia. The very first set of decrees issued by the government contained a pronouncement on education. Before the end of January, 1918, the Soviets had begun a state publishing business, had abolished a number of autocratic and religious departments, and had separated the schools from the church. Simultaneously subsidies were granted to school children, schools were consolidated and new educational programs were issued.

An effort has been made to utilize the results of scientific investigations in educational methods. The Soviet officials specify the very food of the children in terms of calories, protein, fat, carbohydrates. They give serious attention to the teachings of Montessori, Ferrer and Dewey. The revolution, however, has made a distinctive contribution in the establishment of Red Army universities and, above all, in workmen's universities, which make higher education available to the great mass of workers.

The Unity Schools

An educational innovation is the Workers' Unity School. This type of school is run on the continuous grades system and is open to all children on equal terms. Until a child is sixteen, specialization in the true sense of the word is avoided. The term "general education," however, is made to include polytechnic training. Education assumes a labor and play character and becomes real; schools become children's communes. In the primary grade—the first five years—the curriculum includes work in kitchen, garden, workshops and on farms. In the secondary grade, where the students remain for four years, the broad social character of labor is emphasized. The children are thought old enough for serious participation in productive work, in coöperate enterprises and the like. Physical and aesthetic culture, of course, is not ignored.

School fees have been abolished, children have been provided with food and in many

cases with clothing, the coöperation of the entire community has been enlisted. So long, however, as the Soviet Republic has to defend itself against the aggression of the Allies, it will be difficult to provide an adequate budget to carry out the plans of the Commissariat.

School Attendance

The number of children attending schools has been steadily increasing since the revolution. It is estimated that during the year 1918-19, 2,600,000 attended the primary grades and 200,000 the secondary grades, while the latest figures available—those cited by Lincoln Eyre in the New York *World*, March 25, 1920—indicate an attendance in the primary schools of 3,000,000 and in the secondary schools of 1,500,000. When trade is resumed the growth will be even greater.

Russia, it must be remembered, was always dependent on foreign countries for its school materials. In 1918, however, the Petrograd district alone printed 11,500,000 books and pamphlets, while the school budget reached three billion rubles, and, in the first half of 1919, four billion. Thus far education has been compulsory only in principle. Probably not more than 25 per cent of the children are provided for, yet the registration preparatory to the extension of the system has assumed country-wide proportions.

The Teachers

The final serious lack is of teachers. At first many teachers were actually paid by counter-revolutionists to stay away from school, while many others disliked the new educational methods and were opposed to communism. In a multitude of cases, these very teachers are now active enthusiasts. The revolution has turned out to be the best seminary for old teachers.

Lunacharsky in his report of September, 1918, speaks of the development of the *economic, moral and intellectual level of the teachers.* The Commissariat has raised the pay of teachers, has established hundreds of special course-schools, where they may study the history of socialism, etc., and has organized so-called "central pedagogic courses" of the Commissariat. Various leaders, such as Bucharin, Lunacharsky and others, have lectured in these courses.

Russia is the only land where pre-school education is an integral part of the educational system. The Soviet ideal is to start a process of education at the age of one year. At present, however, the children begin their work in the kindergarten at approximately the same age as in America.

The guiding principle of the Commissariat of Education is that *advanced education shall be accessible to all in Russia.* All are allowed to attend lectures in the higher grades. Only those who have shown certain capabilities are admitted to the practical vocational work.

New Universities

Since the Soviets took control, ten new universities have been established. The University of Moscow is attended by 26,000 students. A great number of smaller institutions of higher learning which admit all workers desiring an education are scattered throughout the country. Russia is giving special attention to the training of its own proletarian experts, and the scientific associations have received a new lease of life.

The Commissariat of Education which has achieved so much in adult education has established a department for "home education and people's universities," another for "aid to independent school organizations," a third for "universal compulsory education."

Art

Direct appeal to the revolutionary masses to fight on the "illiteracy front" has brought about a great amount of activity. The Central Library Commission which has charge of the distribution of reading matter in coöperation with the postal telegraphic department, has established reading rooms in the very wilds. The government has thrown open its archives, centralized museums (in-

dustrial and artistic), and, in short, all of its cultural facilities of a public nature. The story of the theatre as a cultural force has often been told. The government has established academies of music and song. It has transformed the decrepit Academy of Arts into a free governmental artistic workshop. It has created an artistic-industrial department for the purpose of elevating the artistic angle of industry!

Industrial Education

The Commissariat has given much attention to popular education in the industrial plants, particularly since the creation of labor armies. A late decree for the so-called *proletcult* (proletarian culture) makes it obligatory for all workers between the ages of 18 and 40 to take a course, unless they have already done so, in the technology of their work. Those taking this course work six hours, instead of eight, for which they are paid.

Soviet Russia is striving to develop an education for the new era. It would be well for the world to watch its progress with sympathetic eyes. For the world will some day follow Russia.

Book Reviews

A Study of British Labor

What the Workers Want. Arthur Gleason. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920.

Arthur Gleason introduces his new book, "What the Workers Want," as "the human record of British labor as it goes to victory, reported by an American for Americans." From the American point of view there could scarcely be a better introduction. The reader will certainly gain from this volume a vivid impression of the British labor movement since the signing of the armistice in November, 1918. He will also gain such knowledge of the trend of British labor as will enable him to interpret events for, it may be, the next twenty years.

To the American reader the book will come as a refreshing draught from wells of political sanity; a cooling drink from the saving springs of humor. It will reveal to him the great trade-union socialists of Britain "successfully fighting the sweep of anarchy from eastern and central Europe and the murderous bitterness of American industrial relations." He will catch from the movement a note of certain triumph sustained by a passion for a better, freer Britain; he will also hear undertones of a terrible sadness. The worker with his wealth of dogged staying power is out for victory; but it will come to him loaded with a weight of reponsibility, as a result of physical and mental effort. Whether victory comes or not there will be the burden of general poverty. During the next three years, when the "troubled and disastrous financial condition of Britain is realized," the financial propositions of the I. L. P., for a graduated system of conscription of wealth, for taxation of land, accumulated capital, incomes and profits, and for a national bank must come to the fore. Hardship itself will accelerate the pace.

Value to British Readers

The book is an interpretation of British labor to the world at large—the author's introduction is far too modest—and provides an especially fascinating study for the British reader. In it he can see himself as others see him, can listen to a friend from over the water, a little more logical than himself, endowed with rather better powers of observation, a superior fund of humor, a capacity of hitting straight and of wasting no words upon the operation.

The British reader may be somewhat surprised at the high estimate set upon his own labor leaders; he takes them more casually. He may find it difficult to keep abreast of the now rapidly moving events and to realize the importance of the rôle played of late by Robert Smillie, president of the Miners' Federation, "the strongest industrial union in the world." Gleason says, "the Coal Commission was Robert Smillie. He created it. His miners nominated four of the twelve members and had the refusal or acceptance on approval of two more. . . . He held the witnesses fronting the costs and gains of the industry in terms of the human welfare of the workers."

The British reader may not have pictured Frank Hodges, the brilliant secretary of the Miners' Federation, as "the most powerful young man in England." Yet as he reads he will be increasingly ready to admit that it is the spectator who sees most of the game. If his Oxford years, as is the case with the present writer, happen to have fallen upon the period when G. D. H. Cole, Mellor and Laski were at the outset of their careers or were still undergraduates, and if he opens this volume with the memory of many a warm discussion of the theory of British socialism still in mind, he will get his first salutary shock when he reads of the

British labor movement as a "revolution without a philosophy." "The British prefer not to see a thing ahead of time. They rely on their reserve strength to see them through. So right now, they are working a greater change than their talk about it reveals. And it is going to be done with an accompaniment of severer suffering than they let themselves realize."

The Coming Revolution

The British movement is unique in that it expects to achieve its goal by means of a bloodless revolution. "The nearer labor approaches its day of power the more does it slow up and develop responsibility, and the fainter grow the voices of the extremists. . . . The leaders of labor are constitutionalists, who desire neither bloodshed nor paralysis. They wish a steady next step progress to the socialist state, with workers' control. Those leaders are Smillie, Hodges, Clynes, Henderson, Thomas, Gosling." This is the "gentle revolution" upon which the author dwells with insistence. It is also the *raison d'être* of this volume. "It is of high political importance that we in America learn to know these men of labor. For Curzon and Carson, Milner and Churchill are fast becoming spectral; but Clynes and Thomas, Gosling and Hodges, will one day be among the governors of Britain."

The gentle revolution will take place along two lines. A majority of labor members will one day be elected to Parliament, and labor will be called upon to create a labor government. The power to create a labor government is in the hands of the workers even now and can be used as soon as the people are sufficiently awakened. The other line is that of workers' control, culminating in the elimination of the capitalist and more immediately, in nationalization of mines and the transport system. Once he has familiarized the reader with the setting and the leading personalities of British labor, the author turns persistently towards any promising means that may lead to the discovery of the probable rate of progress, or reveal a possible time within which a substantial achievement of labor aims may be looked for. The question "When?" dominates the remaining two-thirds of the volume; it accounts for the range of the subject matter and is the key to the somewhat miscellaneous appearance of the chapter headings.

The book is divided into two nearly equal parts of some 250 pages each. The first part is mainly from the author's own pen; the exceptions comprise a series of chapters upon special subjects. Hodges writes upon workers' control; Murphy of Sheffield upon the shop stewards' movement. Cramp speaks for the railway men; Smillie supplies a digest of his views upon the England that the workers want.

In the second part of the book we have eight or ten documents of supreme interest to any student of the movement who wishes to make himself master of the outlook in detail in any one or more of several lines. These papers are the reports of the councils, conferences and commissions in which the year 1919 was prolific. There are in some cases comments by the author.

Thomas, Smillie, Hodges

What do the workers want? was the question often put to labor's "Big Six" during the sitting of the Coal Commission. The wants of the workers can be summarized, according to J. H. Thomas, under four heads: shorter hours, higher wages, workers' control, and nationalization of mines and transport. The first two are easiest of attainment and the most immediately urgent; a more complicated and a more prolonged struggle ranges about the last two.

Gleason put the question "When?" to Smillie, a man whose word is law to 800,000 miners, a leader well accustomed to swaying not only great assemblies, but also, at times, his fellow leaders. He placed the attainment of workers' control as from 5 to 15 years distant. Smillie is worn, and no longer able to take the strenuous part in leadership that was his up to last year. This will be labor's loss.

Hodges, with a sharper consciousness of difficulties ahead, puts the time at from 5 to 20 years. Smillie, and to a certain extent Hodges, are miners first, and men of wider interest by dint of intellectual effort or of natural genius. Gleason, without the miners' bias and perhaps also without the feeling of trade union strength now native to the miner, fresh from a comprehensive survey of the whole field, and gifted with remarkable powers of analysis of social problems, places the achievement of control as covering 25 years.

Women and the Revolution

Gleason enumerates three forgotten and two unknown factors likely to be omitted from attempted forecasts, and he points out at least one considerable gap in the philosophy of the guildsmen, a group of young intellectuals who have otherwise done excellent service to the cause in "domesticating a British brand of syndicalism, as agreeable to the palate as Lipton's tea." Amongst the forgotten factors stands Horatio Bottomley and his press; he is the Hearst of Great Britain. Secondly, there is ancient England, fed upon tradition, learned, refined, to whom the proletariat is simply repulsive.

Thirdly, there are the women (we place them here for convenience of treatment, the author puts

them first). There are some 7,000,000 in industry, largely unorganized, often excluded from the men's unions. During the war their wages rose in some cases to two-thirds that of the men. At the present moment their wages are tumbling down. "Women will be an auxiliary force in the struggle of the coming years." They will not be in the ranks of the regulars. "The iron will enter their souls. No one is going to help them but themselves." It is an added complication in the matter of a political forecast that a large proportion of them are now enfranchised.

Youth at the Stirrup

The unknown factors are primarily the young men and the returned soldiers. Youth is "at the stirrup but not yet in the saddle." Hodges is almost the only young leader whose voice is heard at conferences. What the equestrian will do when he gets amongst the ranks of the marchers the author does not venture to predict. The men too young to have taken part in the war have been, in the present writer's estimation, visited with over-responsibility in business life, over-paid for their small experience; they tend to make acute business men of narrow interests and fond of pleasure. The iron may enter their souls too in the coming years, unless they continue to succeed in business, when they may well be lost to labor.

The returned soldiers are forming up in two groups: the "Comrades of the Great War," inspired largely by the upper classes; and the "Federation of Discharged Soldiers and Sailors" created by the rank and file of the late army and navy. Members of the Discharged Soldiers' Federation are by no means all labor men, but the writer has observed amongst a group of three or four hundred in a certain small but well-known English city, ably led by a few public spirited young ex-soldiers, an increasing trend to the left; and a tendency amongst employers to pass by a Federation man if a Comrade could be obtained.

There can be found at most labor centers a few at least of the younger men who are admirers of the Russian model and who uphold, in theory, the method of the armed revolution. What will be the effect of the hotheads upon the harassed and timorous middle classes? There is always a certain risk that a mishandling of the situation by some group or other may cause a conflagration. This very risk, in the eyes of our author, renders it imperative that the social analyst should point out with merciless clarity that the bridge is lacking between the day of aspiration and that of achievement. Thus, whilst acknowledging his services in helping to provide direction for the forces of labor, Gleason does not spare G. D. H. Cole. His treatment of the evidence proffered by Cole to the Coal Commission and Cole's failure to follow it up with concrete propositions is a challenge to all guildsmen to discover quickly whether or not they have been leading labor up a blind alley. It is equally a challenge to all labor leaders to consider whether they have set themselves with sufficient assiduity, or indeed with any assiduity at all, to win over and educate to their cause the managerial element in industry.

Cole and the Sankey Report

The principle of joint control by employers and employes has been very widely yielded in Great Britain; but only in such measure as to whet the appetite of workers for the substance in place of the shadow; only in the main in matters concerning hours and wages and details of personal comfort. The author points out, in a chapter containing notes by the Ministry of Labor upon the findings of the Whitley Councils, how few of the giant industries have come in under them. These councils, it is said, do little or nothing to train the workers in the assumption of managerial function. It is the desire to participate in such function that, more than the matter of hours or wages, is at the root of labor unrest.

Mr. Justice Sankey realized this truth and endeavored to draw from Mr. Cole practical information the existence of which would appear to be implied by his generalizations;[1] it was with evident disappointment that Mr. Sankey was obliged to substitute the recommendation of Lord Haldane upon the training of a new class of government servant, as undertaken by the London School of Economics for certain administrative officers of the army. Gleason comments on this subject, "It is conceivable that a well grounded statement of workers' control might have won for the miners a recognition that will now be delayed through a transition period of several years." The author looks to the London School of Economics, with Laski now on its staff, to supply at some future date the framework of the missing scheme.

In a survey so comprehensive and illuminating the English reader cannot but conclude that Mr. Gleason would have had something of much value to say in a review of the labor press of Great Britain. We should like to know how he regards the valiant little *Daily Herald.* We are left wondering that in a review of so many personalities the editor of the *Herald,* George Lansbury, has no place.

The thanks of all ranks of British labor will go freely to Mr. Gleason for his arduous, helpful and most sympathetic work in interpreting the British movement not only to his own countrymen, but also to itself.

MARGARET B. CROOK.

[1] Cole's *précis* of evidence, portions of his oral evidence, also the Sankey Report and Haldane's evidence are incorporated in Part II.

The Workers' Culture

The Equipment of the Workers. An Enquiry by the St. Philip's Settlement Education and Economics Research Society. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1919, 334 pp. (American agent, Sunwise Turn.)

The Equipment of the Workers, though the first to be published, is intended to be volume II of a trilogy now being compiled by a group of the Fellowship of Reconstruction investigating in Sheffield, England. Volume I will be entitled *The Education of the Workers* and volume III *The Environment of the Workers.* The book already issued is evidence that this work is being accomplished carefully, scientifically, solidly: what is more, every effort is being made to eliminate as far as possible the customary dryness of such researches when printed. The statistical summary reveals that about one-fourth of the manual workers in Sheffield are well-equipped mentally and morally, approaching three-quarters are inadequately-equipped, and about one-fifteenth are decidedly mal-equipped.

It is, however, only necessary to reconstruct from the data given for the well-equipped the various individuals of that division to realize how complete is the lack of even an elementary culture in this specimen section of the working class. To quote from the preface: "Some of our 'anti-labor' readers, eager to find support for their prejudices, will hold that we have revealed the inferiority of the poor. Perhaps when we have completed the present inquiry we shall investigate the educational equipment of other social strata consisting of people not so poor as the workers in material things. Would an investigation prove them to be richer in things of the spirit?" The continual cry of the modern artist and the sensitive man against the vulgarity of taste and manners imposed by capitalist society, voiced very recently by Gilbert Cannan, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Paul Rosenfeld, would indicate that the middle and leisure classes are no less deficient in any real vital culture. Disastrous as an economic experiment, capitalism has wreaked equal damage, by its drive towards standardization and uniformity, upon all that makes life colorful, sportive, and free. It has carried on a gigantic process of bleaching the human soul, the outcome of which can be grasped from such works as *The Equipment of the Workers.*

GORHAM B. MUNSON.

Steel and Labor

The Great Steel Strike and Its Lessons. William Z. Foster. N. Y.: Huebsch. 1920. 265 pp.

The Steel Strike of 1919. Commission of Inquiry, Interchurch World Movement. N. Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920. 275 pp.

No student who wishes to visualize the class struggle as it actually exists in the United States can afford to be without these case books on the steel strike, one prepared by a group of churchmen and economists watching the struggle from the side lines, the other written by the able leader of the strike committee.

Both books are in essential agreement in their analysis of the causes of this greatest of modern American strikes, and in their description of the Prussian methods employed by the steel trust throughout the entire period of the conflict.

While the committee from the Interchurch World Movement acts chiefly as impartial historian, Mr. Foster combines the function of historian and social philosopher. His analysis of the causes of the failure of the strike are deserving of special attention. This failure Mr. Foster lays chiefly to the door of the unions. While the trade unions throughout the country gave the steel workers more assistance than ever before in their history, yet the effort put forth "was but a fraction of the power the unions should and could have thrown into the fight. The organization of the steel industry should have been a special order of business for the whole labor movement. But unfortunately, it was not. The big men of labor could not be sufficiently awakened to its supreme importance to induce them to sit determinedly into the National Committee meetings and to give the movement the abundant moral and financial backing so essential to its success. Official pessimism, bred of thirty years of trade-union failure in the steel industry, hung like a mill-stone about the neck of the movement in all its stages."

Moreover, the force of organizers, handled by many internationals, was loosely knit together. The steel unions had no definite connections with related trades. In the next big drive, "which should be in a year or two, . . . the twenty-four unions should . . . be so allied with the miners' and railroad men's organizations that should it come to a strike these two powerful groups of unions would rally to their aid and paralyze the steel industry completely by depriving it of those essentials without which it cannot operate, fuel and rail transportation."

A further hindrance to success, Mr. Foster maintains, was the withdrawal from the strike of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, which had jurisdiction over about 50 per cent of the mill workers, including all the strategic steel-making trades, "without whose support the remainder cannot possibly win."

Mr. Foster's view of the ultimate goal of trade unions is also of unusual interest. The trade union movement, he believes, is essentially revolutionary, although trade unions at times try to camouflage their real goal. This camouflaging,

while it disarms certain opposition on the part of the capitalists, "costs the unions the support of the whole left wing of the labor movement. . . . This devitalizing drain must be stopped and the great body of progressives and radicals won over to the whole-hearted support of the trade unions. I consider this one of the most important tasks confronting the labor movement. But it can be accomplished only by driving home to these elements the patent facts that the trade unions are making straight for the abolition of capitalism and that they are going incomparably faster towards this goal than any of the much advertised, so-called revolutionary unions, in spite of the latter's glittering preambles."

The author is confident that vast changes for the better will be wrought in trade unionism when the militants get into the unions, begin to work together, set up their own press, further plans for amalgamation and federation, initiate organizing campaigns and retire to private life such officials as now find themselves at the head of the Amalgamated Association.

The unions, with the exception of such hopeless affairs as the United Garment Workers, "are moving steadily onward and upward, and they have an unshakable grip upon the workers in their respective spheres. This being so, the logical thing to do is systematically to set about improving and strengthening them."

The author contends that the English radicals "do not waste their time and strength in empty, pessimistic criticism of the trade unions, and in vain, foolhardy, attempts to tear the whole labor structure to pieces and to reconstruct it according to the dream of Daniel De Leon. . . . The hour when our militants generally adopt English methods, and turn their whole-hearted attention to building up and developing the trade union movement—that hour will be the dawn of a new day for American Labor."

The Interchurch report devotes much of its attention to the grievances which led to the calling of the strike. Its conclusion in regard to the length of the working day in the steel industry prior to the strike is startling. "Approximately one-half the employes were subject to the twelve-hour day. Approximately one-half of these in turn were subjected to the seven-day week. Much less than one-quarter had a working day of less than ten hours (sixty-hour week). The average week for all employes was 68.7 hours," a higher average than in 1910 and 1914. Other basic industries near steel communities had a working week from 12 to 20 hours shorter than the steel industry, while the British steel workers worked 20 hours less a week. Moreover, "nearly three-quarters of the steel workers could not earn enough for an American standard of living," and this despite the fact that the United States Steel Corporation accumulated in 1919 an undivided surplus of $493,048,201.93 as compared with a surplus of $151,798,428.89 in 1914.

"The steel industry," continues the report, "was under the domination of a policy whose aim was to keep out labor unions. In pursuit of this policy, blacklists were used, workmen were discharged for union affiliation, 'under-cover men' and 'labor detectives' were employed and efforts were made to influence the local press, pulpit and police authorities.

"In Western Pennsylvania the civil rights of free speech and assembly were abrogated without just cause, both for individuals and labor organizations. Personal rights of strikers were violated by the State Constabulary and sheriff's deputies."

These two books should be required reading for all who still think that industrial autocracy and political democracy can exist side by side.

H. W. L.

The Revolutionary Classics

Our Great War and the Great War of the Ancient Greeks. Gilbert Murray, N. Y.: Scott and Seltzer. 1920.

In a day when science has so lamentably failed to see straight, it is refreshing to turn from the reactionary moderns to Gilbert Murray and the ribald radicalism of Aristophanes. "Our Great War and the Great War of the Ancient Greeks" is an innocuous title, but under it the classicist has succeeded in getting over some daring points of view on censorship, the international proletariat, and the economic causes of war.

Gilbert Murray's translations are, as always, enjoyable, even though such words as "Niagara" in the mouth of the Athenians make us a bit suspicious that other lively expressions also may be more Murray than Aristophanes. Perhaps the desire they arouse in us for a comparison with the original is a part of the author's deep-laid scheme to wean us from all translations, even the best.

More impressive, however, than the summoning to life of old Athens or the brilliant analysis of war psychology is the tragic parallelism which Professor Murray makes us feel between our own perilous civilization and the imperial democracy of the Greeks. Natural science is teaching us how to run our car with speed and comfort; but the classics are the language of certain guideposts along the road. Can we afford to neglect either one?

JESSIE WALLACE HUGHAN

The International of Intellectuals

La Lueur dans l'Abîme. Henri Barbusse. Paris: Editions *Clarté.* 1920.

Barbusse depicts the present social order on its way to bankruptcy, famine, and defeat. The old civilization crumbles, having been maintained for ages on lies. The governors and diplomats seek to ward off the coming doom by brutalities and violence, and to allay the popular discontent by flattery and promises. The soldier world has been universally deceived. Incomprehensibly great has been the incompetence, the cruelty and injustice in the conduct of the war both at the front and at home.

The possessing classes base their power on the ignorance of the masses, and easily instill in the minds of those long enslaved the cult of that which is consecrated and the hatred of that which is new. To combat this mental myopia, the group Clarté has been formed—a "League of Intellectual Solidarity for the Triumph of the Cause of Internationalism." It has no political or national affiliations whatsoever; it is founded on reason, not sentiment; its norm is the individual, its law equality; it believes in the unification, not the collaboration of classes. It endorses the soviet system of representation as more democratic than our own; labor, it declares, should alone be remunerated, and all other forms of acquiring money suppressed. It stands for humanity as against the nation, and conducts its propaganda by international congresses, conferences, and publications.

The author is French in his enthusiastic insistence on reason and his belief in pure ideas. The book is written with compelling ardor, and closes with an image likening the *poilu* bent beneath his heavy load, to the biblical scape-goat bearing on his back the sins of the whole world.

HELEN SAHLER.

Fiction about Russia

Facts and Fabrications about Soviet Russia. Evans Clark. N. Y.: Rand School of Social Science. 1920. 96 pp.

In his foreword the author, formerly instructor in government in Princeton and for some time director of the Information Bureau of the Soviet Bureau, fitly describes the purpose of this exceedingly useful volume:

"This is a guide-book for searchers after truth in a wilderness of intellectual confusion. It might be called a field key to American information about Russia. It is designed to enable the reader to identify a fabrication at sight, to make a fair guess at what is a fact and to know just where the truth may be found in the morass of conflicting propaganda."

The volume is divided into two parts. Part I deals with the astounding falsehoods told about Soviet Russia by the American Press, publicists and state and federal officials during the past few years. In this portion the Sisson documents, the presidential fabrications, the reports of alleged military defeats, and the rumors concerning "the nationalization of women," etc., are set forth in documentary form.

Part II consists of a comprehensive bibliography of periodical, book and pamphlet literature dealing sympathetically with all phases of the Russian problem—foreign policy, education, drama, industry, labor, propaganda, religion, the woman question, etc.

The author has placed all students of the Russian question under a debt of gratitude for this mine of classified information concerning the truth and falsity of the thousand of conflicting rumors concerning the Russia of today.

Book Notes

The Passing of the County Jail. By Stuart Alfred Queen, Ph. D. Menasha, Wisconsin: The Collegiate Press. 1920. 156 pp.

A scholarly study of jail conditions in California and a plea for a more humane method of handling the prison problem.

Pamphlets

Relation of Public Ownership to Democracy and Social Justice. By Albert M. Todd. Chicago: Public Ownership League. 1920. 29 pp. An address before the Academy of Political Science in the City of New York. A plea for public ownership as a necessity for democracy; an exposé of the corrupt and autocratic influence of privately-owned railroads, and an exposition of the democratic influence of public control in Switzerland.

Report of the Commission of Inquiry Into the Present Conditions in Ireland. London: British Labour Party, 33 Eccleston Square, S. W. I. 1920. 12 pp. A powerful plea for self-determination in Ireland.

Trusts and the Public. By A. L. B. London: The Labour Party, 1920. 8 pp. Recommendation regarding the immediate and ultimate solution of the trust problem. Ultimately the author believes that "it is for labor to destroy the whole body of capitalism."

The Future of Our Foreign Trade. By Frank A. Vanderlip and John H. Williams. N. Y.: Scarborough-on-Hudson. 1920. 44 pp. Showing the swing of America from a debtor to a creditor nation.

Terms of Third International

THE terms formulated by the Third International for parties making application for membership are here given in substance. The conditions are so severe that in none of the large countries except Italy has the majority labor or socialist party as yet accepted them.

1. "The daily propaganda and agitation must have a clear communist character. . . . The bourgeoisie and also its accomplices, the reformers of all types, must be systematically and unmercifully branded."

2. Reformists and centrists should be systematically removed from all responsible posts in the labor movement, and "'experienced' opportunists" be replaced without hesitation by workers of the rank and file.

3. "In countries where because of a state of siege or of exceptional laws the communists are unable to carry on all their work legally. . . . it is their duty . . . to create parallel to the legal an illegal organization capable at the decisive moment of fulfilling its duty to the revolution."

4. "A systematic and vigorous propaganda must be carried on in the army."

5. A systematic and well-planned agitation must be carried on in the country districts.

6. Every party must "denounce not only avowed patriotism, but also dishonest and hypocritical pacifism, and . . . demonstrate to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international court of arbitration, no discussion of the reduction of armaments, no 'democratic' reorganization of the League of Nations can preserve mankind from fresh imperialistic wars."

7. "The Communist International demands imperatively . . . a complete and final break with reformist and centrist policies . . . and that this break be made within a very short time. The Communist International cannot admit that such avowed opportunists as Turati, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald, Modigliani, etc., should have the right to call themselves members of the Third International. That would make the Third International too much like the Second."

8. ". . . Parties in those countries whose bourgeoisie possesses colonies and oppresses nationalities" must "support every movement for emancipation in the colonies not only with words but with acts, . . . nourish in the hearts of the workers . . . a genuine fraternal feeling for the working population of the colonies, and . . . sustain a systematic agitation among the troops of their countries against all oppression of the people of the colonies."

9. Communist nuclei must be formed within the trade unions, the cooperatives, and other mass organizations of the workers.

10. "It is the duty of parties belonging to the Communist International vigorously and persistently to fight the yellow Trade Union International organized at Amsterdam."

11. ". . . Each communist member of Parliament" must "subordinate all his activity to the true interests of revolutionary propaganda and agitation."

12. "The periodical and non-periodical press and all party publishing concerns should be under the complete control of the party executive, whether that be legal or illegal."

13. "Parties . . . should be organized on the principle of democratic centralization. . . . The party executive" should be "armed with large powers," exercise "uncontested authority," and have "the unanimous confidence of the active membership."

14. "The Communist parties in countries where the communists work legally must carry out periodic housecleanings of the party organization to rid the party of petty bourgeois and special interest elements."

15. "Parties . . . should give unqualified support to all soviet republics in their struggles against the counter-revolution. They should untiringly preach refusal to transport munitions or supplies to the enemies of the soviet Republic."

16. Each party should revise its program and "work out a new program in the spirit of the decisions of the Communist International adapted to the special conditions of their countries. As a rule the programs . . . should be confirmed by the Congress of the Communist International, or by its Executive Committee."

17. "All decisions of the Congress and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International are binding upon all parties affiliated with it. . . . The Communist International and its Executive Committee should take into consideration the very varied conditions in the different countries, and make general and binding resolutions only when they can be carried out."

18. All parties must assume the name "Communist Party of . . . (Section of the Third Communist International)."

College Notes

IN spite of—perhaps because of—the restrictions that many college authorities have placed on free speech and thought in the last few years, this season opens with numerous healthy signs for the I. S. S. Students everywhere seem to be rousing from their academic apathy to a real curiosity about things that are going on in the world outside of college walls and text books. From obscure colleges which we have never before been able to reach with speakers or organizers, we are receiving requests for literature and information.

It is too early in the college year to expect any great amount of activity from our chapters, but some have already started the year's work.

The Adelphi group, of which Amelia Seidman is secretary, held its opening meeting on October 15th. Jessica Smith spoke on the need and the opportunities for the I. S. S. and assisted the members in planning a membership campaign and program for the year.

The Boston University chapter, organized last term, has lost its leading spirit, Eli Kogos. Kogos is planning to spend next year in study in France. Sadie Shapiro will take his place as head of the group, and promises a vigorous organization.

At C. C. N. Y. the authorities, grown uneasy over the activities of the Social Problems Club which held two meetings a week last year, have restricted the number of speakers for any organization to two a month. Nothing daunted, the club is making plans accordingly and is already securing speakers for the coming season. The club will continue its discussion groups and study circles.

A number of students at Columbia University have organized "The Columbia Forum" with the assistance of the I. S. S. Harry Laidler addressed the opening meeting on "The Ideals of Modern Socialism." The group has decided not to affiliate with the I. S. S. at this time. It plans, however, to keep in close touch with the Society, and many of the members are joining individually. Later a smaller group of those who desire to concentrate on the study of socialism, will organize a branch of the I. S. S. Rolland Bradley is president of the new organization, Helen Rivkin of Barnard, secretary.

Charles Madison of the University of Michigan writes that he has sent out a call to the initial meeting of the season, and expects good response.

A growing number of students are interested in the work of the I. S. S. at Princeton, and it is probable that the Princeton chapter will reorganize in the near future.

Thomas L. Dabney writes from Richmond, Virginia, that a group of students at Virginia Union University are interested in socialism and expect to form an I. S. S. chapter.

The Vassar chapter held a dinner on October 25th at which Harry Laidler spoke on "The Labor Movement Here and Abroad." In the afternoon he addressed a large body of students on the issues of the presidential campaign.

The University of Wisconsin chapter is planning a debate between Seymour Stedman, vice-presidential candidate on the Socialist Party ticket and a prominent non-socialist.

Alumni Activities

The Boston Alumni Chapter is opening an excellent series of meetings with a discussion on "The Economic Interpretation of History" early in November. For December 5th, Miss Hodge, the secretary, is arranging a symposium on "The Socialist State."

The New York Alumni Chapter will reopen its Saturday afternoon Camaraderies early in November.

The St. Louis Alumni Chapter will be reorganized by Johnston C. Craig, formerly president of the University of Wisconsin chapter.

J. G. S.

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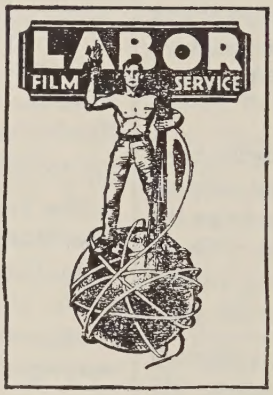

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